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ON THE INTENTION  
OF THE  
BRITISH GOVERNMENT

TO  
Unite the Provinces of British North America,  
AND  
A REVIEW OF SOME EVENTS

WHICH TOOK PLACE DURING  
LAST SESSION OF THE PROVINCIAL PARLIAMENT.

*in 1855*

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PART I.

A REVIEW OF SOME EVENTS WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN THE HON. HOUSE  
OF ASSEMBLY OF UNITED CANADA, IN ITS LAST SESSION.

PART II.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SUPPOSED INTENTION OF THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT,  
OF FORMING A FEDERAL UNION OF ALL THE PROVINCES OF BRITISH NORTH  
AMERICA, BY REPRESENTATION IN THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

PART III.

SOME REMARKS ON THE HON. MR. HINCKS' ANSWER TO THE HON. JOSEPH  
HOWE'S (OF NOVA SCOTIA) PLAN ON THIS SUBJECT; AND REMARKS,  
ALSO, ON THE CONCLUSION OF THE RUSSIAN WAR.

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BY HENRY TAYLOR.

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1855?  
HAMILTON:  
PRINTED AT THE "SPECTATOR" OFFICE, COURT HOUSE SQUARE.

T2 678 1855

*Purchased  
from the  
Chancellor  
Richardson  
Memorial  
Fund*

**CANADIANA  
COLLECTION  
QUEEN'S  
UNIVERSITY  
AT KINGSTON**



**ONTARIO CANADA**

## P R E F A C E .

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THE publication of this work, has chiefly originated from the following circumstances :

Public opinion, as to the conduct of the Honourable Legislative Council of the Province, having of late years, from various causes, sunk to a very low ebb, so much so, that the Honourable House of Assembly was at length led to propose and carry out the very extraordinary measure, namely, that the constitution of that branch of the Legislature should be shorn of the high honor it had hitherto possessed, of being nominated by mandamus of the Crown, and that it should be now rendered elective.

The author of the present work, feeling, and being convinced that any deficiency in the energy and zeal of the Legislative Council of the present day, is not a sufficient reason for depriving the future of the Province of a constitution which had been founded on the well tried one of the British Nation, and which has hitherto preserved the union of these Provinces with the powerful empire of Great Britain, and thereby secured the permanency of their prosperity under that constitution.

The author proposes, therefore, in this work to support these opinions, and to shew in what manner the Legislative Council could be brought sufficiently under the influence of public opinion, without depriving it and the Province of the high honor it has hitherto possessed of being nominated by the Crown. This forms the first part of this work.

The second part contains the plan for the future representation of all the British North American Provinces in the British House of Commons, which the author believes the present advanced and advancing condition of the Provinces requires, would be the most conducive to their welfare, and would meet the wishes of both sections of the Province.

The third part of the work consists of remarks on the Hon. Francis Hincks' answer to the Hon. Joseph Howe's plan for the



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representation of these Colonies in the Imperial Parliament, and also remarks on the conclusion of the war with Russia.

I now conclude this preface with observing, that perhaps the reader, after duly considering the ideas we have brought forward in this work, shewing the high advantages a modified representation of the Colonies in the Imperial Parliament would confer on them, may consider the idea a good one, it having being also sanctioned by every party in the House of Commons of Great Britain at the time of the Reform Bill, and by some of the highest authorities; and I myself, certainly believe, that not only does the present advanced and advancing state of these Colonies justly claim such a measure, but that none would tend more to promote the strength and security of the empire and its vast dominions.

I have now to notify the reader that the manuscript of this work was composed six or eight months before the Peace. On the subject of the then existing War, the reader will find that I have stated my opinion in the work, and trust to have proved it, that the Russian power was not competent to overturn the liberties of Europe, which was one great cause of the popularity of that War. The Peace has proved the truth of that opinion; and I cannot but conceive that a solid and honorable Peace might have been given to our country long before that event happened, and thereby thousands and hundreds of thousands of brave and noble men saved.



## PART I.

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*A review of some important events which have taken place in the Honourable House of Assembly of United Canada, in its last Session :*

Since the publication of the second edition of my last work on the Present Condition of United Canada, Toronto, 1850, the Clergy Reserves have been secularized by the Legislative Assembly of the Province. In that second edition, I stated my ideas on that subject, and in pages 182-3 I stated that—

“At all events, should it be made apparent to the Provincial Legislature, in the case of the question of the Reserves being re-referred to them, that the quantity of land is greatly more than sufficient for the due maintenance of the Protestant religion, would it not be just and proper to leave as much of these Reserves in the hands, and for the service of the Protestant Churches, as the Provincial Parliament, should in its wisdom deem sufficient for that purpose? But to deprive these Churches entirely of every provision for their maintenance would, it appears to me, be a most serious attack and obstruction on the religious practice of a very great part of the Province.

“I have now only to remark on this long pending and vexed question of the Clergy Reserves, which has occasioned so much irritation among the various sects of Protestants, that it appears to me to furnish a very powerful argument in favor of the plan I have proposed in the first edition of this work, to these various sects, and to their respective Clergies, namely, the calling of a convocation of these last, for the purpose of trying ‘whether such modifications of their various creeds and forms of Church Government could not be effected, so that one great national Protestant Faith and Government might be established?’”

I have now only to add in this subject, that it is possible

that had the Church of England taken up some such plan, as I have recommended in that work, for the formation of a National Union of Protestants, I have little doubt that many of the other Protestant sects would have joined in the endeavor to produce such a Union of all Protestant Churches, and in that case I say it is possible that the secularization might have been prevented.

The secularization of these lands has taken place from two causes: First, from the large quantity of land, suffered for so many years to remain unimproved, and thereby to occasion much inconvenience to the settled parts of the country for want of roads through it; and, secondly, (by the unceasing endeavors by persons inimical to those Churches for whom these lands were reserved, or otherwise from political motives), to excite the people to seek this secularization.

It is true, indeed, that a popular idea has prevailed in the Province, that the proceeds of these Reserves has been applied to erect Churches and to supply Clergy to some communities who could afford to do so of themselves, and that this was not according to the real design of the Royal appropriation. How well founded this idea may have been I am unable to say, but, as it is certain the original intention of the donation of lands by Geo. III. was to supply those congregations who should be unable to do so themselves, I hold it therefore as positively consistent with justice, that such portion of these Reserves as would be required to enable such congregations to be duly supported, should have been held intact and sacred, from all invasion; and moreover, I feel convinced that a great majority of the good and respectable people of this Province would coincide in this opinion.

As it is, one branch of the Legislature has secularized all of these Reserves, absolutely designed for that pious purpose, without providing for such congregations or bodies of people, who may be hereafter found totally unable to provide Clergy or places of worship for themselves—namely, poor emigrants, coming to the Province; and, as to one miserable argument I have heard on the subject, namely, that there was no direct Grant, I say, as there was a direct and positive Reserve of one-seventh of the lands for the purpose of aiding the Protestant Churches, it superceded the necessity of any Grant from the then owner of the lands, namely, the Crown of G. B.

Now we have yet another branch of the Legislature for im-

mediate reference to on this subject, namely, the Legislative Council. This Council has, indeed, fallen low, very low in public opinion of late years, though in former times they have boldly supported their rights of legislation. We have now to see whether they will do so on the present occasion, and whether the rights of religion will find in them true defenders.

As a friend to these rights, and as I hope—a true born Canadian—I shall here exercise my right to give my opinion that the Council should not pass that Bill for secularizing the Reserves without an amendment, to the effect that those congregations or bodies of Protestant subjects, who could prove they are not competent to erect Churches or Chapels, or to maintain a Clergy for the purpose of divine service in them, shall be enabled so to do by proceeds of these Clergy Reserves.

In my work on the Present Condition of United Canada, Toronto, 1850, I have addressed the Clergy of the Church of England, and of all other sects of Protestants, on the subject of establishing a convocation of all Protestant Churches, for the great purpose of forming a National Union of all of them, by ascending to the source and fountain head of Christianity, and founding a National Protestantism on the simple and sublime words of the Saviour alone, without recurrence to any other authority whatever. I have stated in that work, that I did not believe the reformation complete without this National Union of the Churches; that with it, the reformation would be perfect and durable, and that by those transcendent minds who should be found to have capacity and zeal to enable them to effect this great purpose, a fame would be acquired, as great if not superior to that of the founders of the reformed religion itself.

Now we find by some of the English prints, there is a design of calling a convocation of the Church of England, but that alone would not effect the accomplishment of the great purpose I contemplate, unless they invited the other Protestant Churches to combine with her in the great attempt. She has not yet done so, and therefore, I now appeal to the Church of England in Canada, to call a convocation for this great purpose.

The Church of England ministers, for many years, have suffered much annoyance by the animosity of other sects of Protestants. Now, whether the Bill for secularizing the

Clergy Reserves passes or not into law, it appears to me a most favorable opportunity for forming such a convocation, and thereby endeavouring to effect this glorious union of all Protestant Churches presents itself; for if the Bill passes into law the inveterate source of animosity on the part of those sects will be removed, and one great cause of disunion would be overcome.

The Churches of England and Scotland should now show a willing mind to conform and carry out the real spirit of the founder of their religion, as shewn in the 17th chapter of St. John's Gospel, verse 20th: "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them who believe in me through their word." And verse 21st: "That they all may be as Thou Father, art in me and I in Thee; that they also may be one of us; that the world may believe that Thou hast sent me."

It appears to me, that this passage gives an undeniable proof that the Saviour contemplated and designed the unity of His Churches. All the humane and wise feelings of our nature speak in favor of such a union, and let no feelings of party spirit oppose it, for the time is come for its completion, when we find that such is the divine will, and it cannot then be opposed without a great sin.

By all the accounts I have met with for some years past, it appears to me that all sects of Protestants are well aware that the Church of Rome is making great strides against their religion: witness the proceedings of the Propaganda, and it is from the unity of that Church that it derives its power. The same unity among Protestant Churches would give them equal strength, which event would be incomparably more to their advantage than any difference of forms of worship that yet exists among them.

This day, the 9th December, 1854, it appears the Legislative Council has passed the Clergy Reserve Bill without any amendment.

By this Bill, the entire remaining body of the Clergy Reserves, which was destined by the Crown of the reign of Geo. III. for the support of the Protestant faith and practice, have been swept away, with one condition only, and made compulsory by the Imperial Parliament, that the incomes of the present incumbents should be paid them by the Provincial Government during their natural lives. The Clergy of the present day are therefore secure in that respect. But how will it be after their demise?



The congregations of the various churches or chapels of the towns and villages will then be under the necessity of remunerating their Clergy themselves. They may perhaps be competent to do so. But what is to be the case with those bodies of poor settlers, who will be annually coming out to the Province? The Clergy Reserves are all swept away. The congregations of the towns and villages will have enough to do to pay Clergy for themselves; and thus the poor settler who is just able to build a shanty for himself and family, must be without the means of public decent religious service.

The Legislative Council has, therefore, failed in remedying the evil, by passing this Bill without an amendment referring to the future of the Province, and insisting on a certain portion of the Reserves being retained for the purpose of assisting those poor settlers and emigrants, who may be found totally incompetent to erect places of divine worship for themselves and families.

The Council has thus entirely failed in sufficient energy to protect the just claims of the Protestant religion, which brings to my mind a conviction that some part of the institution of that Council requires a change. They are appointed by the Crown. That is an honour to themselves and to the Province, which I consider they should not be deprived of, as I moreover believe it to be a great guarantee for the existing and happy union of the Colonies with Great Britain.

But referring to the peculiar case of this Province, I do think they should hold their stations during "good behavior only." At the same time, in order to insure the independence of this branch of the Legislature, I think that a number of members of the Council, quite sufficient for the business of the Province, should be appointed, and *that* being done, the executive should not then have the power to increase that number in order to carry any party measure.

By these means the independence of the Council would be secured, and would also be brought to a sufficient dependence on a decided majority in public opinion, for if that opinion should be found by the Crown to be decidedly against their conduct, they could be displaced.

And having been thus led by my reflections on the conduct of that Council, in not insisting on some provision being reserved in the bill for these poor settlers who will be coming out yearly, to enable them to erect proper buildings for

the practice of divine worship ; and, having been led also to point out how I conceive the future independence of the Council may be secured, I have now to present my opinion on a subject of perhaps greater importance.

I refer to attempts which have been for some time making to destroy the constitution of one branch of the Legislature of this Province by another branch, namely, the House of Assembly.

Now from what sort of persons this attempt has originated I am not aware ; there were few if any petitions from the great body of the people on the subject, that I know of, still there may be many disposed for the measure, as a majority of the members of the House voted for it. It was well known that the estimation of that Council had sunk low, very low, in consequence of their agreeing to the passage of the Rebellion Losses Bill, and their subsequent conduct has also been censured. This will possibly account for the displeasure of a large body of the people with that Council.

But it is not by any means a sufficient reason that because the Council of the present day have failed in their duty, that both the present and future of the Province should be deprived of the honor, advantages, and strength of the British constitution, which in the recent requirement of the Provincial Legislature, has been extended and confirmed to them.

This British constitution has enabled Great Britain to maintain her liberties and independence for ages, in the midst of surrounding despotic nations. But this was not effected by abandoning that constitution on every internal or external attack, but by upholding and adhering to it through every difficulty.

But to my great astonishment, the British Ministry appears to have sanctioned this attempt to overthrow so important a part of the constitution of the Province. One man—and one man only, I believe—namely, the Earl of Derby appears to have foreseen and foretold in Parliament the probable effect which such an act would have. He gave his opinion that if an act were passed rendering the Council elective, it would probably cause a republican government in a few years in Canada.

It is true that the British government has agreed to let the Legislature of the Province manage its own affairs, without

interference on their part, so long as that management does not affect the great interests of the empire. But, as to the constitution of the Province under which it has safely arrived at its present prosperous condition, I consider, they have no more right to destroy it, than they would have to destroy the British constitution, should any contingency arrive, to excite part of the people of England to demand it.

The value of the British constitution greatly depends upon its stability, and the persevering maintenance of that stability, and the reason why the people of England do maintain that stability is that they know it is in the nature of that constitution, that all errors or improvements respectively can be corrected or adopted by it.

So precisely is it in this Province. I have shewn above how, in my humble opinion, the Legislative Council could be amended and brought sufficiently under the influence of public opinion, and, I trust, this safer course than the one proposed by the intended Bill, would be sanctioned by that portion of loyal and intelligent people, who, I verily believe, constitute a great and influential part of the Province.

It is therefore to be hoped, that on mature consideration, our Legislature may discover, that by a due infusion of energy and independence into that Council, it may be brought much more under the influence of a well authenticated public opinion, without depriving it and the Province of its highest honor—the nomination to its high office by the Crown as the fountain of honor.

The representatives of the people in the Provincial Parliament have before them the great question, whether the constitution of the Provinces as regards one of its branches, shall be invaded and overthrown or not. I attended at some of these debates, and I proceed to make some observations on what I heard there :

Monsieur Cauchon, I believe, began the debate.

This gentleman is charged, if I recollect, by one or more of the debaters, to have been formerly much against the overthrow of the institution of the Legislative Council.

The French inhabitants of this part of the Province, have no doubt, reason to be glad of the transfer that has been made to them of the free constitution of Great Britain, in exchange for the rather despotic power of the government of Canada when under the French dominion ; and I believe a great majority of them is grateful for the change.



But it is not to be expected that they should have the same strong attachment for the British constitution as a Briton has. This attachment of a Briton is owing to the long experience he has derived from the past history of his country. There he finds that this constitution had been for ages perverted and almost destroyed by the despotism of some of its sovereigns.

But the innate principles and force of that constitution at length arose, and re-established itself on its present firm and unshaken basis by the glorious revolution of 1688. And it is the constant and immoveable attachment to this constitution of true liberty, which has enabled the British people to maintain that liberty against the assaults of foreign and sometimes internal foes.

And yet there was the notorious Mr. McKenzie, who during this debate, this Mr. McKenzie, who by the lenient nature of this constitution, has been permitted to return here to enjoy its blessings, after having largely assisted in their destruction,—here is this man returned to Parliament to legislate under this constitution, presuming to compare it with, and as it appeared to me, to prefer to it the constitution of the American States. Let it be noticed, however, that this constitution of the States has yet to go through many of the phases and attacks, similar perhaps to those which the British constitution has gloriously survived. It is yet to be seen whether the vast divisions in that country, one-seventh or one-eighth of its population remaining to this day in a state of slavery, whether the selfish interests and licentious manners they indulge in are not capable of destroying those qualities of the heart and mind, which can alone maintain true liberty.

The British constitution has, I say, survived these attacks and others equally great. Let not then any man compare it with the paper constitution of the States, which has yet to undergo its own trials.

In the debate, this man after vainly boasting of the great advantages conferred on the Province by the Rebellion of 1836-7, observed truly enough, that perhaps he had erred by want of patience.

Yes, if McKenzie had been as profoundly acquainted with the qualities and nature of the British constitution as he ought to have been, his attachment to that constitution would have given him and his coadjutors that patience he

failed in. He would have considered that if the grievances he had complained of, and for which they were about to throw the Province into civil war—if these grievances were really considered to be a sufficient ground of war—that there were constitutional means by which the majority of the people could have procured the redress of these grievances peaceably; and if the majority of the people did not consider them a ground of war, which the discomfiture of that Rebellion by the people, and by the people alone, clearly proved; then the Rebellion was wrong and liable to the dreadful consequences of producing civil war.

This same member of Parliament, in reply to Mr. Brown's assertion, that there were no petitions from the people for overthrowing the Legislative Council, was apparently much nettled at the observation, and in a violent tone of voice and manner, recapitulated the various attempts that had been made by the Legislative Assembly for this purpose. But, attempts made by the House of Assembly or parts thereof are not petitions from the people.

The people or the majority of them at least seldom petition, unless the grievances they complain of are of great and real importance to their welfare or security of their rights.

Now it is well known how gentlemen who wish to have the representation of the people in their hands, contrive to turn the complaints of a few to their own ends: only promise to their constituents that if they allow them to represent them, all complaints shall be removed and great advantages secured to the constituency,—and the business is done.

The Hon. Hilliard Cameron, a speaker of considerable oratorical powers, said, that whatever might have been the conduct of the Legislative Council in former times, in obstructing the acts of the lower branch of the Legislature, yet since the acquisition of responsible government, the case with that Council was much changed, and that it was rather liable to the charge of too easy a compliance with these acts of the lower House than the reverse, which in one important instance, I trust I have above shewn to be the fact, with respect to their passing the Clergy Reserve Bill, without attempting to procure in it a clause to aid those settlers who will be annually coming out to the Province, perhaps totally unable to build Churches or Chapels for themselves and Families.

Mr. Ferrie, although professing in his speech great respect for the British constitution and for Conservative principles, proposed a plan for electing the Council, which I confess surprised me much, considering the high Tory principles he advocated, when concerned in the *Montreal Herald*, some years since, when edited by his friend Robt. Muir, and I believe, by himself since in the *Montreal Gazette*.

This plan, if I rightly understand it, was to divide the Province into six divisions, and to allow everybody who voted for the House of Assembly, to vote also for the members in the Elective Legislative Council. What could this mode of election produce but two Houses of Legislative Assembly.

The danger of such a plan was well pointed out by the famous lawyer and statesman, Lord Brougham, who cautioned the government, that if they did ratify the Bill, the qualification to vote should be much greater for the Council than for the Legislative Assembly.

For my own part, I am of opinion that when a country has obtained a constitution which has for many years secured its prosperity, it ought to be considered too sacred by its people, to be upset especially as it can be by constitutional means reformed and amended.

On the 21st March, there was a call of the Legislative Council, on the subject of the Bill sent to them from the Lower House, for changing the constitution of the Council by rendering it elective.

I attended the meeting and am glad to say the result was glorious for the Honble. Council, for after a long debate in which Col. Tache, the French Canadian Minister in a long speech, implored the Council not to pass the amendment moved by the Hon. Mr. Mathewson to postpone the reading of the Bill until the next Session, and warning them against the danger of the motion, declaring that if the amendment were carried, he would enter his protest in the Journals, so that the responsibility would rest on the Council. But, notwithstanding this threat, the Council firmly carried the amendment, I believe, with a great majority, and, to this point, they did maintain their rights and privileges.

In his speech, Col. Tache observed that the Council would be more Conservative by Election than now, as they were now nominated by the Executive Council, who were under pressure of the House of Assembly, and that if they were in

future nominated by the Governor solely that would be contrary to what he called the Provincial Constitution giving responsible Government.

Now it is true that while the Council as it is now nominated by the Executive, may be considerably under their influence, therefore, not so independent as they ought to be; but, if the plan I have proposed or advocated in the former part, of this work, to fix on a sufficient number of members of the Council to perform the Provincial business, and, after that is done, not to allow the Executive to increase that number for carrying any particular measure, the independence of the Council would then be secured.

But there is much more to be said on the effects of the Council passing the Rebellion Losses Bill, which was the first step to that loss of public opinion by the Council. The Upper Province did not, indeed, proceed to rebellion. The Conservatives of Canada have a good deal of the horror of rebellion which was so remarkable among the Tories of the time of James 2nd in England, although the Page of History leaves no doubt that he intended to have overthrown both the religion and liberties of his people; the Tory party continued long to maintain their objections to resistance by force and it is astonishing to read the absurd and unceasing arguments they used to justify their nonresistance, which nothing but the ultimate, infatuated, conduct of James at length overcame, as shewn by McCaulay's beautiful History of those times.

Col. Tache may rest assured that but for this great repugnance to rebellion of that Conservative party in the Upper Province, on the passing of the Rebellion Losses Bill by the Legislature, a rising might have taken place there, to which the rebellion in the Eastern part would have been but as a drop in the bucket. I was, at that time, an eye-witness to the public feeling. The idea that, after risking their own lives and property in defence of the Government, that that Government should consent to grant that indemnity to rebellion, produced that degree of feeling in Western Canada.

Thus, it would appear that it had more cause to complain of that Council than the Lower Province.

The misconduct of the Council of the present day, however great, is no just reason, why it and the Province should be, on that account, deprived of the advantages and honors of the constitution granted to it, and under which it has signally thrived.



I myself, remember when a boy, that Upper Canada then consisted almost entirely of woods, rocks and lakes. There was a small settlement at Kingston or Cataraqui, of French people, and another along the banks of the Thames, as may be seen by Guthrie's Geographical Grammar, at the years 1785-6.

Now it has been observed, by certain persons in their public speeches of late, that there can never be an aristocracy in Canada. I should consider *a priori*, that those who suppose so are not only democrats, and unfriendly to the British constitution, but that they must be entirely ignorant of the human mind in society.

There can be no country on earth where there exists not some species of aristocracy. Examine the society of the United States, who really seem to believe themselves to possess the only country where Freedom exists in perfection, and there, do we not behold the worst kind of aristocracy, that of money, at least I have never heard it denied to exist there.

The fact is, that any twelve men could not assemble to discuss political or other subjects, but you will soon discover among them, the germs of the aristocracy of the mind.

This is a gift of nature to the individual, or more frequently acquired by him by superior education and consequent reflection. The first wants of man being obtained, namely, sufficiency of good food, clothing and housing, he proceeds, by patient industry, to acquire the means of enjoying the comforts and luxuries of life. Having obtained these, he naturally seeks to obtain civil honors among his fellow citizens. The mind in all stages of its existence must be employed, and fortunate it is, for the society he lives in, that instead of confining himself to the mere acquisition of wealth, his desire of elevation, natural to the human mind, leads him to seek those honors which public talents and opinion can procure for him.

This is what I consider the true formation and origin of aristocracy in a young country; and to suppose that these generous and noble ideas can never exist in such a country as Canada, is an unmerited degradation of its character, its patriotism, and its intelligence.

The Legislative Council has, in answer to the opening speech of Lord Elgin, on the subject of the constitution of that Council, acknowledged their assent that improvements

in it will be required, and to which they would duly attend.

I have above given my ideas, how these improvements could be effected, without depriving the Council and the Province of the honors of the British constitution.

One chief objection to this Council, with a considerable part of the population is, that it is not sufficiently under the influence of public opinion. But, by rendering the members of it, who shall be hereafter appointed by the Crown, enabled to hold their seats in that Council only "during good behaviour,"—a sufficient influence of public opinion must ensue, because should it be found that the Council opposed and prevented measures manifestly for the public good, then the unanimous voice of the country being duly made known to the Crown and its executive on the subject, the Legislative Council could then be removed from power.

It was, therefore, with great satisfaction I found, that the Hon. Legislative Council had shewn firmness and wisdom sufficient, to resist the attempts of the lower branch of the Legislature, to deprive them and the Province of the honors the British constitution had conferred on them, by deferring the present consideration of the hostile Bill.

It has moreover been said, by some advocates for this radical change in the Legislative Council, that under responsible government it is not from the Crown members receive their nomination, but from the existing Ministry, who may have a majority in the House of Assembly. But the government and his executive are impowered *by the Crown, under mandamus* to make that nomination.

Now, in order to prevent the effect of undue influence of this executive over the independence of the Legislative Council, I have proposed above, that a certain number of members for the due transaction of business of the Province being thus appointed; that *that number* should not be allowed to be increased by any Ministry; and, I conclude this subject by stating my humble opinion, that the members of the Council should be recommended by the government and his executive to the Crown, to be nominated by its *mandamus* "during pleasure," in order, as shewn above, how that Council may be brought under sufficient influence of a well ascertained public opinion.

Since the above was written, it appears that the Council,

in an ensuing Session, has actually passed the Bill for rendering themselves elective. They have thus, in my opinion, given up their highest honor; for the Crown, by our British constitution, is the *fountain of honor*.



Nations." His Lordship said, he had read Adam Smith's work and he had read all the works on that subject, since his time, and that he found them all Adam Smith, *hashed up*.

We now proceed to the extract from this great work.

"Towards the declension of the Roman Republic," says Mr. Smith, "the Allies of Rome, who had borne the principal burden of defending the State and extending the Empire, demanded to be admitted to all the privileges of Roman citizens; upon being refused, the social war broke out. During the course of that war, Rome granted those privileges to the greater part of them, one by one, and in proportion as they detached themselves from the general Confederacy."

The Parliament of Great Britain, insists upon taxing the Colonies, and they refuse to be taxed by a Parliament in whom they are not represented. If to each Colony which would detach itself from the general confederacy, Great Britain should allow such a number of Representatives as suited the proportion of what it contributed to the public revenue of the Empire, in consequence of its being subjected to the same taxes, and in compensation admitted to the same freedom of trade with its fellow subjects at home; the number of its Representatives to be augmented as the proportion of its contributions might afterwards augment; a new method of acquiring importance, a new and more dazzling object of ambition would be presented to the leading men of each Colony. Instead of peddling for the little prizes which are to be found in what may be called the paltry raffle of a Colony faction, they may then hope from the presumption which men naturally have in their own ability and good fortune, to draw some of the great prizes, which sometimes come from the whole of the great state lottery of British politics. Unless this, or some other, method is fallen upon, and there seem to be none more obvious than this of preserving the importance and of gratifying the ambition of the leading men in America, it is not very probable that they will ever voluntarily submit to us, and we ought to consider that the blood which must be shed in forcing them to do so is, every drop of it—the blood—either of those who are, or of those whom we wish to have for our fellow citizens. They are very weak who flatter themselves, that in this state to which things are come, our Colonies will be easily conquered by force alone. The persons who now govern the resolutions of what they call their Continental Congress,

feel in themselves at this moment a degree of importance which perhaps the greatest subjects in Europe scarce feel. From shopkeepers, tradesmen and attornies, they are become Statesmen and Legislators, and are employed in contriving a new form of government for an extensive Empire, which they flatter themselves will become, and which indeed seems very likely to become one of the greatest and most formidable that ever was in the world. Five hundred different people perhaps, who in different ways act immediately under the Continental Congress, and five hundred thousand perhaps, who act under those five hundred, all feel in the same manner, a proportionable rise in their own importance. Almost every individual of the governing party in America fills, at present, in his own fancy, a station superior, not only to what he had ever filled before, but to what he had ever expected to fill, and unless some new object of ambition is presented either to him or to his leaders, if he has the ordinary spirit of a man, he will die in defence of that station.

It is a remark of the President Hanault, that we now read with pleasure, the account of many transactions of the Ligue, which when they happened were not considered as very important pieces of news, but every man then says he, fancied himself of some importance, and the innumerable memoirs which came down to us from those times were, the greatest part of them, written by people who took pleasure in recording and magnifying events, in which they flattered themselves they had been considerable actors. How obstinately the city of Paris, on that occasion, defended itself, and what a dreadful famine it supported, rather than submit to the best, and afterwards the most beloved of all the French kings, is well known. The greatest part of the citizens or those who governed the greatest part of them, fought in defence of their own importance, which they foresaw was to be at an end, whenever the ancient Government should be re-established. Our Colonies, unless they can be induced to consent to a Union, are very likely to defend themselves against the best of all mother countries as obstinately as the city of Paris did against one of the best kings.

“The idea of representation was unknown in ancient times. When the people of one State were admitted to the right of citizenship in another, they had no other means of exercising their right but by coming in a body to vote and deliberate with the people of that other State.”

The admission of a greater part of the Inhabitants of Italy to the privileges of Roman citizens, completely ruined the Roman Republic. It was no longer possible to distinguish between who was and who was not a Roman citizen. No tribe could know its own numbers, a rabble of any kind could be introduced into the assemblies of the people, could drive out the real citizens, and decide upon the affairs of the Republic as if they themselves had been such. But though America were to send fifty or sixty Representatives to Parliament, the doorkeeper of the House of Commons could not find any great difficulty in distinguishing who was and who was not a member. Though the Roman constitution, therefore, was necessarily ruined, by the Union of Rome with the allied states of Italy, there is not the least probability that the British constitution would be hurt by the Union of Great Britain with her Colonies. *That constitution, on the contrary, would be completed by it, and seems to be imperfect without it. The assembly which deliberates and decides concerning the affairs of every part of the Empire, in order to be properly informed, ought certainly to have Representatives from every part of it.* That this Union, however, could be easily effectuated, or that difficulties and great difficulties might not occur in the execution, I do not pretend, I have yet heard of none however which appeared insurmountable. The principal perhaps arise not from the nature of things, but from the prejudices and opinions of the people, both of this and the other side of the Atlantic.

We on this side of the water are afraid lest the multitude of American Representatives should overturn the balance of the constitution, and increase too much, either the influence of the Crown on the one hand, or the force of the democracy on the other. But if the number of American Representatives were to be in proportion to the produce of American taxation, the number of people to be managed would increase in proportion to the means of managing them, and the means of managing to the number of people to be managed. The monarchical and democratical parts of the constitution, after the Union, would stand exactly in the same degree of relative force with regard to one another as they had done before,

The people on the other side of the water are afraid, that their distance from the seat of empire might expose them to many oppressions. But their Representatives in Parliament,

of which the number ought from the first to be considerable, would easily be able to protect them from all oppression. The distance could not much weaken the dependency of the Representative upon the constituent, and the former would still feel that he owed his seat in Parliament and all the consequence which he derived from it, to the good will of the latter. It would be the interest of the former, therefore, to cultivate that good will by complaining, with all the authority of a member of Parliament, of any outrage which any civil or military officer might be guilty of in that remote part of the Empire. The distance of America from the seat of government besides, the natives of that country might flatter themselves, with some appearance of reason too, would not be of long continuance. Such has hitherto been the rapid progress in that country of wealth, population and improvement, that in the course of little more than a century, perhaps the produce of the American might exceed that of the British taxation. The seat of Empire would then naturally remove itself to that part of the Empire which contributed most to the general defence and support of the whole.

Such were the opinions in favor of, and the high authority conferred on the scheme of representative Union of Great Britain with her former and present Colonies in North America, by Mr. Smith, a Union which, had it been adopted in due time, would very probably have prevented the separation of the present States of America from the Parent Country.

I have, however, to repeat the same observation with respect to this great author, that I stated with respect to Governor Pownall's plan of Union, at the close of my observations on the extract from it, namely, that the idea of taxation of the Colonies after the Union by the Parliament of Great Britain, is diametrically opposite to the plan of Union I have formed and will shortly be laid before my readers. The Colonies are already subject to taxation by the Provincial Legislatures, and I feel persuaded that no plan of Union by which they would also become liable to a second taxation by the Parent State, would be acquiesced in by these countries.

The observations of Mr. Smith in the first and third paragraph which we have quoted, are admirably calculated to shew the utility of Representative Union in an extensive Empire, inasmuch as we conceive it may be fairly inferred,



that had the allies of Rome, when admitted by her as Roman citizens, been duly represented by deputies sent from each State to sit in the Roman Senate or National Council, we say it may be fairly inferred in that case that the Roman Empire instead of being ruined by her allies would probably have endured for numerous ages longer than she did.

Mr. Chisholm, in the work I have above mentioned, has therein quoted the objections of the celebrated Edmund Burke, to this Union of the Colonies with the British Parliament, and has I think, very well answered and refuted these objections, independently even of the newly acquired accession of steam power in crossing the Atlantic, which it seems Mr. Chisholm had predicted in his work, and has now the satisfaction of seeing those predictions pretty nigh realized.

In corroboration of the idea mentioned above respecting the probably greater duration of the Roman Empire, had it possessed the discovery of representation, we shall now mention instances of some countries which have derived solid advantages and durability therefrom.

Ancient Greece itself, is almost a sufficient proof of this, and had she had the foresight to have prevented the fatal influence of Macedon in her National compact and to have preserved her National virtues, she might perhaps have descended in her former glory to the present day.

The Germanic Diet, and more particularly the United Provinces and the Swiss Cantons, are strong proofs of the capacities of Union in preserving the liberties of Nations even when surrounded by powerful and despotic Nations. The United Provinces in the midst of every difficulty, became at one time one of the greatest commercial countries in the old World, and have even sometimes been able to dispute the Trident of the ocean with Great Britain.

England herself affords a brilliant example of the strength and power of Representative Union. In her fertile land of liberty this species of Union has been gradually improving since the completion of the Heptarchy by our renowned Alfred, up to the recent establishment of Parliamentary reform, by which she proved the fact that her glorious Constitution is competent to purify itself from all corruptions. And it is devoutly to be hoped that the prosperous acquisition of this reform, may not destroy that moderation for which the British Nation, in her political character, has been so conspicuous, and that she will soon perceive that the

extension of Representative Union, to all her Colonies, in a manner adapted to their circumstances, must not only promote their peace, security and prosperity in a degree hitherto unknown, but eventually consolidate the power of her Empire.

Scotland, by the great advances she has made since her Union with England, in agriculture and in several branches of manufacture and in commerce, is a proof of the advantages of Union by Representation. The industrious spirit, the mechanical talent, the enterprising genius of the Scotch might perhaps have otherwise lain dormant for ages.

Ireland, though last, will not be the least who will reap advantages from her Representative Union with England. She is sufficiently represented there by able advocates of her interests and fair demands. And she now probably requires little more than an efficient and wise code of poor Laws to introduce peace and security into her country; and the advantageous employment of her labour and talents by British capital will then ensue, and produce a new career for her agriculture, manufactures and commerce.

The United States may certainly be considered as having presented to the World a prominent instance of the advantages of Representative Union; although it must be confessed that the rise and gradual increase of late years of a most licentious spirit among that people both in their domestic concerns and most especially in the late treatment of these Provinces by a part of her population, gives strong indications to believe, that unless they retrace their steps, by the enactment of wise and salutary laws for the accomplishment of that end, some disastrous events must ensue in that country proving that even liberty itself—the greatest gift of Heaven—may be abused, and, if not preserved within the bounds of reason, moderation and religion, may produce the misery or ruin as well as the welfare and prosperity of a nation.

Trusting now to have briefly shown that the several countries above mentioned and the extracts we have quoted form a combined and powerful evidence in favor of Representative Union, I shall now beg leave to conclude this part of the subject with an observation on that part of Mr. Chisholm's work, which treats on the "National and constitutional right of the Colonies to Representation in the Imperial Parliament." These rights are treated in a very elaborate

put to the test of the united wisdom and justice of the Imperial Legislature.

We trust to have produced in the course of the foregoing pages sufficient opinions and arguments to prove the necessity of a Representative Union of these Colonies with the Parent State. The foundation upon which we have placed this Union, as stated in the principles enumerated, is indeed materially different from any former plan of Union advocated in Parliament, but as the design in making this difference is, as shown in the 7th and 8th principles, to avoid any collision with the Imperial Parliament on account of the taxation of these Provinces, we have great hopes that the said Parliament, in consideration of the constitution of these Provinces already established, will acquiesce in the principles of Union above enumerated, more especially as by the 8th principle the right of voting on any question or motion of the taxation of the people of Great Britain is not claimed.

It is possible, however, that the Imperial Parliament, wishing to profit by the knowledge and abilities of the Colonial Representatives, may allow them to debate on all questions whatever, which come before the House, even concerning the taxation of the people of England, solely restricting them from voting thereon.

We have, therefore, now to present this important plan to the consideration of the public. We conceive it will greatly tend to the peace, security, and advancement of these Provinces in every branch of prosperity. We conceive the late events in both the Provinces of Canada prove the necessity of this Union, and we believe the rapidly increasing population of all the North American Colonies will render this measure indispensable. The sooner then, we can obtain its advantages, the better and the wiser. Should any future and serious differences occur in the several branches of the Legislatures of any North American Colony, whereby the public peace or business should become obstructed, an efficient *safety valve* will thus be formed, by the right and privilege of deputing Representatives to the Imperial Parliament, where these differences and difficulties may be speedily discussed and terminated, and where it is highly probable the Colonial Representatives will find it their interest to combine all their zeal and talents for the general and individual advancement of the Provinces of British North America.

I now conclude this important chapter, believing and



hoping, that the *past and present* evils which have so long afflicted these Provinces, may be happily terminated by the Union proposed in it, and offering my ardent prayer to the all wise disposer of the destinies of countries, that He will bestow His blessings on that Union, and enable it to produce the *future* peace, prosperity, and happiness of these North American Provinces.

Coinciding therefore, with the enlightened views of the profound author of the "Wealth of Nations," Adam Smith, and with those of Governor Pownal,—to whose honor I have to mention, that he has very lately been named among the many claimants to the authorship of the renowned "Letters of Junius,"—I now proceed to state my ideas in support of that kind of representation of these Colonies in the Imperial House of Commons of Great Britain best suited for them.

I consider that the true road for the permanent advance and security of these Provinces, and for their elevation in the scale of Nations is, to draw the bonds of union closer with the vast Empire of Great Britain, and to give to that Union a more practical form and substance.

The Ministers of Great Britain have indeed often declared the Colonies to be an integral part of the Empire,—(see the speeches of Lord John Russell and others in Parliament.)

Now, as the best means of forming the Federal Union of the Colonies, I consider, that the formation of it in any particular part of them would be a fruitful source of jealousies and dissatisfaction among them, and would in fact come short of the very object of their true elevation, namely, a certain influence and voice in the affairs of the Empire itself.

With respect to Eastern Canada at least, I feel tolerably convinced, they would—(I speak of the Majority)—never willingly agree to such a Federal Union; and Western Canada does not shew any wish for such a Union with the Lower Provinces, though some consider it natural enough that these should be willing.

I shall now proceed to shew, that the present advanced state of these North American Colonies requires some immediate steps on the part of Great Britain, to retain them as an integral part of her Empire, and thereby to meet their growing desire of elevation in the national scale by their Representative Union with the Imperial Parliament.

In the year 1841, two years after the publication of the work in which I advocated this Representative Union as shewn in the foregoing extracts, the population of the two Provinces amounted to little more than one million of souls, whereas by census of Eastern Canada in 1851, their population was 890,261, and of Western Canada in 1851, 952,004 souls, making a total for both East and West Canada, of 1,842,265 souls, and by calculation for this year, 1855, a population of 2,701,336.

I now shew by an extract from the census of 1851-2, the gradual increase of the two Provinces now united, in some of the principal articles of agricultural industry.

*Extract from the General Abstract of Agricultural Produce in United Canada,  
from the Census for 1851-2.*

PRODUCE IN UPPER OR WESTERN CANADA.			PRODUCE IN LOWER OR EASTERN CANADA.		
GRAIN, CATTLE, ETC.		BUSHEL.	GRAIN, CATTLE, ETC.		BUSHEL.
*Wheat,.....		12,672,831	Wheat,.....		3,073,943
Barley,.....		625,452	Barley,.....		494,766
Rye,.....		318,429	Rye,.....		325,422
Peas,.....		3,127,681	Peas,.....		1,415,806
Oats,.....		11,391,867	Oats,.....		8,977,380
Buckwheat,.....		579,935	All Grain in Canada East,.....		14,287,317
Indian Corn,.....		1,688,805	Potatoes,.....		4,424,016
All Grain in Canada West,.....		30,305,000			
Potatoes,.....		4,982,185			
Oxen, Steers and Bulls,.....	NUMBER.		Oxen and Steers,.....	NUMBER.	
Milch Cows,.....		191,140	Milch Cows,.....		112,128
Horses,.....		297,070	Horses,.....		295,552
Sheep,.....		204,670	Sheep,.....		184,620
Pigs,.....		1,050,168	Pigs,.....		647,465
		571,496			257,794

\*Wheat—Acres grown, 798,275; average per acre,  $15\frac{3}{4}$  bush.

The French population of Eastern Canada in reference to their private affairs are a clear-headed and observing people, and pride themselves not a little on their "*Tête Canadienne*." The population of Western Canada, being mostly composed of English, Scotch, Irish, and the descendants of those from the States, may well be called acute and discerning, and well know the value of the freedom and advantages they possess. And the United Province appears to be now on the eve of an immediate advance, by means of the numerous railroads in construction.

The United Province has also lately been introduced to the notice of the old countries, by the recent exhibitions in England and in France, and has acquired considerable celebrity by the productions of nature and of art we have exhibited there.

What the powerful effects these events and especially the railroad movement may have in the trade and commerce of the country, it is easy to foresee.

It will be mainly from these elements of prosperity that the projectors of these railroads must look for employment and business, and railroads cannot fail to encourage the increase of these elements. Facility and cheapness of transport from a great extent of country is, probably, one of the greatest helps to agriculture.

Now, while on the subject of railroads I wish to state an opinion :

One of the contractors or projectors of the Grand Trunk, in his application to our Provincial Government, after stating they—the Grand Trunk Company—had met with a loss or outlay by that railroad, of several hundred thousand pounds, he observed, that if it could get the American travel and traffic, the road would pay  $8\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and if they could not get the American traffic it would pay only 5 per cent. This is as well as I recollect what he stated, and he concluded with a demand of a guarantee on the part of the Province, to the amount of the five per cent., and that the Company would then complete the road. This, if I understand aright, has been agreed to, and the road is to be completed.

But the observation I wish to make is, that although these railroads may greatly add to the trade and facilities of transport, yet I do not by any means look upon them as the main source of prosperity of the Province. In England, it is well known, immense loss and ruin were occasioned by too

many having been put up, which would not pay. The prosperity of Canada, thank God, does not depend upon our getting the traffic or carrying trade of a foreign nation. It depends and arises from the natural increase of population of our own country, and the consequent increase of produce of all kinds—natural and artificial from the land and its waters.

When last in Toronto, I waited on the Governor General Sir Ed. Head, and stated to him a design of publishing the present work, on the intention of the Imperial Government to unite these Provinces. His Excellency asked if it would not be as well to postpone the publication, until I knew it *was* the intention of the British Government so to do. Now it has certainly, for some time past, been stated in the Province that such was the intention of the British Government. It was even reported before the arrival here of the present Governor, that he was coming out for this very purpose, although that does not appear to have been correct.

Now, as appears by the above extracts, several of the most eminent writers of Great Britain have advocated the plan, and last though not least, the late Member of Parliament, Joseph Hume, brought the subject before the House of Commons at the Reform Session, and it was agreed by all parties that as the Reform Bill had been passed for England, that therefore all her Colonies should be at least “partially” represented in that House.

As far back as the year 1839, I had published a small work in Montreal, advocating this measure, and I have to remark that I sent twelve copies of the work down to the Hon. Joseph Howe’s brother, in Halifax, then editor of one of the Halifax papers. Since then, (only a year or two ago,) it appears the Hon. Mr. Howe has brought forward a plan for the same purpose of representation in the British Parliament, which according to his opinion, is much wished for in the Province of Nova Scotia.

Now if the Lower Province feel this desire and claim for representation, much more so has the more populous and extensive Province of Canada to look for it.

In order then, that the present advanced and advancing condition of this United Province, and its almost certainty of a great future one, may proceed in a right and safe direction, and believing that this advanced and advancing condition will entitle it to look for a higher station in a



national point of view, than it at present possesses, I therefore consider its representation in the National Council of the Empire will give it that elevation; and I proceed to shew the necessity of this in the present position of the United Province.

It is true, too true, that elements of discord have abounded in this Province. Varieties of religious opinions have, in ancient times, produced most incredible bad effects between the two great divisions of the Christian religion, but, unhappily, it is not in these two divisions alone, we find this to be the case. Among the numerous Protestant sects, we sometimes find a degree of animosity against each other, not much less than in the above case; yet it is consoling to see that the intelligence and scientific activity of the age is gradually wearing out these asperities.

Often it happens that people coming out from Protestant England or Scotland to Lower Canada, feel a great repugnance to the rites, ceremonies and practice of the Roman Catholic Church, and I doubt not if we could see into the feelings of many of these persons we should find them not unaccompanied with alarm, and accordingly we see sometimes men of talent among them, employed in attempts to overthrow the doctrines of that Church. After remaining some years in this country, they find the futility of these attempts, and also that there is no cause of alarm whatever from that source.

I was born in that part of the Province, and have lived in it for nigh forty years, a good deal of which was among the French Canadian population, and I have never felt the least molestation on their part on account of religion.

With respect to the discord still existing among the Protestant sects, I some years since published my ideas on the means of restoring unanimity among them, in my work on the "Present Condition of United Canada," London, C. W., 1850, and second edition thereof in Toronto. I have therein shewn the weakening effects of these divisions on the Protestant Faith, and suggested to the ministers and laity of the Protestant community, the necessity and wisdom of ascending together to the original foundation of Christianity given us by the Saviour of mankind, to try, if a concentrated code of Protestantism could not be formed on His sublime principles of unity, peace, and good will to man; and I am happy to observe, that some of the sects are already proceeding on

a plan of union of some of them, and I have here to recall my readers to what I have addressed in this present work to the Church of England in these Provinces on this subject.

And I am still more happy to observe that in a late convocation of that Church in the Diocese of Canterbury, England, this very subject was brought forward by some Church of England Clergymen, with respect to the Methodist persuasion, to enable them, if I rightly understood, to take up Episcopal functions in that Church. It appears, however, that in consequence of the wording of the memorial or address on this subject, some of the Bishops present objected to certain observations contained in this address, and it was therefore ordered to lay on the table for the present. The idea, having however, been thus taken up, let us hope that the introduction of it will be adhered to by its supporters, and lead hereafter to a union of peace and good will of all sects. In fine may we not hope that Christianity may be in time restored to that unity, peace and good will to mankind, which there can be no possible doubt was the design of its divine founder that it should be, and I conclude this great subject with one remark.

The population of the world is said to be 1,000 millions. Of these only 3 to 400 millions are Christians. Now all the Christian Churches must wish the extension of Christianity. If it were possible to form a union of all Christian Churches would not the power of the extension of Christianity be proportionally increased?

Now, having discussed the question of the elements of discord in the Province, I proceed to consider the best means of removing them, and have for that end the more pleasing task of considering the influence of the elements of attachment to its constitution.

To myself, who have stated in a former work, that I remember when a boy, that the Province of Canada consisted mostly of woods and lakes, and who now behold in it a country not only capable of supporting above two million of inhabitants, but also of exporting near one million of barrels of flour annually,—nothing more should seem requisite to produce on me a great attachment to that constitution.

Having been educated in England and served my apprenticeship in its vast metropolis, I there imbibed a great admiration for its splendid constitution, for that constitution which appears to be due in great part to its physical



separation from the neighbouring continent—(where despotic rule has very generally prevailed)—that noble constitution which is perhaps better calculated to preserve the true, natural, and dignified liberty of man, than any other in the world. I have therefore, from long experience, imbibed the idea, that a love and veneration for the true principles of that constitution is the best foundation for the happiness of the people of these Provinces. I therefore believe, that to support permanently the part of that constitution which we enjoy and under which the United Provinces has made an unexampled progress, will be a proof of the soundest wisdom; and, I moreover believe, that by far the most enlightened and worthy portion of its inhabitants will, on due reflection, be of the same opinion.

It is true that some very singular statements have been lately advanced in the Legislative Assembly, that we had not the British constitution in the Province, because some of the minor parts of it were deficient. But what of that? We have the very soul of that constitution; we have its democracy in its Legislative Assembly, chosen by the people; we have its aristocracy, hitherto nominated by the Crown or its representative, from among the most influential persons of property, and who it is to be inferred would be in general chosen on account of supposed sufficient talent and zeal to maintain the public weal and security; and we have the representative of the sovereign to preserve and protect that constitution, and to *see* it duly administered.

Such then are the elements of attachment to the constitution of the Province, and when we consider the wonderful progress it has made under this constitution, it seems to me we may say of any deficiencies in it, what Hamlet says of the ills of life: "It is better to bear with them, than fly to others which we know not of."

Previous to a further consideration of the advantages that will arise to the Province by its being represented in the British Legislature, I shall make one observation on a plan that is mentioned in the *Quebec Gazette*, of June 7th, 1854, by a Mr. Hamilton, of Halifax, Nova Scotia, who after stating that this plan had been advocated by some eminent men in Nova Scotia and in Canada, goes on to shew why this idea of Union with the mother country by representation has taken so firm a hold on the North American mind.

These sensations, if existing to that degree in the Lower

Provinces, may well do so in the more extensive and populous region of United Canada. The British Government having, after a struggle of many years, been compelled to abrogate the Corn Laws, (and for want of a due representation of these Colonies in the Imperial Parliament,) without the precaution of granting some boon by way of compensation to them, a very serious degree of dissatisfaction ensued in this Province, which added to that occasioned by the passing of the Rebellion Losses Bill, alienated the minds of many of the most influential people from the Parent State, and led them to favor the idea of annexation to the United States, and had it not been for the singular advance of wheat and agricultural produce, which, notwithstanding the promises of the advocates for this abrogation, has risen in price nearly as high as ever it was before, it is possible that the wish for that annexation would have continued to this day.

It is evident then, seeing the existing state of things in these Colonies, and their rapid advancement and desire for progress, that it will stand the Imperial Government in hand to render that desire for advancement safe, and a means of consolidation of the strength of the Empire by a closer Union with its Colonies, thereby elevating them to a share in the honors of representation in the Imperial Parliament, whereby the zeal and talents of these Colonial Representatives may be enabled to bring forward such measures as they may conceive adapted for the increase of their trade, navigation, and commerce, and may also be animated with a due ambition to employ the power of that zeal and talent for the general benefit of the Great Empire itself.

I shall now consider the mode by which the aforesaid Halifax writer proposes to form this Union, and thereafter to advance some further arguments in favor of the plan I have proposed in a former part of this work, for forming this Federal Union of all the Colonies in the centre of the Imperial Parliament.

It would appear then, that this writer wishes to have all the North American Provinces united into one general government, which should be empowered to levy taxes for them all, as he mentions not a word as to retaining the local Legislatures of each Province. By his plan, therefore, the various Provinces, who hitherto have paid taxes imposed by their own Representatives would now be deprived of that, and find the Representatives they sent to the general

government, subject to the control of that general government in the important concern of their taxation.

I cannot therefore believe, this mode would be approved of by the Lower Provinces, but I believe it would prove a source of endless discontent among them. The Members of the larger and more populous Provinces would outnumber those of the smaller, and would perhaps be preferring their own interests.

The revenues of all the Provinces must, in case of a general government of this description, be at the disposal and distribution of that general government, whereas, as it is at present, the funds of each particular Province are applied to its own particular use.

But even should this plan of Union be adopted it would still leave the Colonies where they now are. They would still remain Colonial dependencies, whereas by the plan of representation we recommend in this work, they will be elevated to a share in the Imperial jurisdiction of Great Britain.

There, in the heart of the British House of Commons, our Representatives might bring forward motions for removing any sources of dissatisfaction which may exist, and bring forward and advocate any plans they may consider competent to advance the trade, commerce and navigation, and general prosperity of the Colonies.

I have heard it indeed objected that the number of Representatives that could be thus deputed by the Colonies would be so small as to have but little weight, and that they would be merely seeking their own advancement and become servile tools of the British ministry. Now as to the first part of these assumptions it will be found of little weight, for the Colonies of Great Britain all over the world are very numerous, and the government of Great Britain have of late years shewn a disposition to act very liberally to her Colonies. In fact, she finds it her best advantage so to do. But it is very certain that the success of this representation of the Colonies would probably greatly depend on the quality and character of the Representatives chosen for that purpose, by the Legislature of each Province. To send men to stand up for their elevation and advancement, merely on account of their influence or wealth therein is not sufficient. These would perhaps be content with the enjoyment of the honors of so high a situation. But the men required to render the trial successful must be men of known

and long tried devotion to the welfare and advance of the Provinces—and of talents, zeal, and energy to produce it.

As to the latter part of the above assumption, namely, the conduct of our Representatives in the Imperial Parliament, I observe, that their conduct would be narrowly watched by our Colonial Legislatures, and they could be removed from their seats if their inisconduct or want of due exertion for the interests of the Province demanded it.

I have little doubt, therefore, that there would be found men of talent and zeal for the advancement of the Provinces who would desire no higher honor than that of representing them in the Imperial Parliament; but although that might not be always the case, and that the employment of their talents should become an object with the British Ministry, they would of course be expected to vacate their seats as representatives of the colonies, and not to sit unless rechosen by the Provincial Legislature.

The representation then of these colonies in the Imperial Parliament, by men of powerful talent, and of great zeal for their advance, is certainly the best way to produce that elevation of them, which their rapid progress seems to require; and should that Parliament agree to allow such a representation as I have proposed in the former parts of this work, namely, to leave the taxation of these colonies entirely to their separate Legislatures, and to allow us to send Deputies to the Imperial Parliament to sit there, and to vote solely on all questions relating in any shape or manner to their advancement, we may then be said to possess all the advantages of Independence, with the addition of a very great one for a young country, namely, that we shall have the defence and protection of one of the most powerful maritime nations to enable us to maintain that Independence.

Such, then, is my decided opinion of the safest and surest mode of producing the elevation of the colonies.

Now as respects the interest of Great Britain herself in this union of all her colonies by representation, it appears to me to be exceedingly manifest.

These political relations and interests are of such vast extent, that it would appear to require the united energies of every part of her empire to manage them with due effect. For instance, in the case of the dreadful scene of warfare Great Britain is now in.

The generous love of freedom and hatred of oppression for which the British nation has been long distinguished, has



been excited to a high degree by the recent conduct of the Emperor of Russia regarding Turkey. Great Britain and France have resisted this conduct with most unexampled bravery and constancy in the midst of great suffering from diseases arising from climate, and a great deal of avowed misconduct in the supply of our army with the necessary materials of warfare.

Now it appears that this war has tended greatly to affect the commerce of this Province, at least such is the opinion of many of our merchants, and although in the plan we have advocated in the work for the representation of these colonies in the Imperial Parliament, we do not claim the right of voting for or against any measure by which the people of England are to be taxed, seeing that our plan proposes that the colonies shall be taxed by their own Legislatures solely; yet as these colonies are greatly interested in the question of Peace or War, it does not seem unreasonable that they should be allowed the privilege of declaring their opinions and arguments on the subject, although not allowed to *vote* therein in the Imperial Parliament.

By this means would be derived the talent and the energy of every part of her empire for the consideration of the Councils thereof, and perhaps it may be observed that the people of the colonies, being less interested and agitated on the subject, might possibly be found to form a cooler and more matured judgment on this highly important question of Peace or War.

Now I myself remember wars between the Russians and Turks, many years ago, and which wars did not produce the overthrow of the Turkish Empire, and even, in the beginning of the present war, the Turks repeatedly repulsed the Russians.

It appears also to me, that the generous desire of the English people to defend the weak against the strong, was not the only motive for their interference; but that an idea prevailed among them that if the Russians conquered Turkey they would be able thereafter, to attack our East India possessions.

It has, however, been pretty well proved, that before Russia could carry an army into India it would cost her the loss, by that march alone, of more than 100,000 men.

But this is not all by any means, that is to be said on this subject of attack of our East India possessions.

Great Britain has a population of above one hundred



millions of people in the East Indies ; and I am informed that a certain part of them—the Seapoys—form, when incorporated with our European troops, very good soldiers. Now, if the plan of representation of all the possessions of Great Britain, proposed by Joseph Hume at the time of the Reform Bill, and agreed to by all parties in the British House of Commons, were now put into force and action, it would raise that East India population to a degree of freedom, and inspire them with the courage of a free people, to defend their liberties against any power Russia could send to destroy them.

But it would appear also, that this supposed danger to our East India possessions, was not the only motive of the war on the part of England. We have been told by several writers, that the Russian Government is bent on the overthrow of the liberties of Europe, and that they have the power to do so.

This appears to me a much more extravagant idea than the probable loss of our East India possessions, and I here subjoin an account of the population of those countries, which are to be thus overthrown :

#### POPULATION OF THE FOLLOWING COUNTRIES.

COUNTRIES.	POPULAT'N.
Empire of Austria,.....	37,443,033
Duchy of Baden, (Limited Monarchy,).....	1,362,774
Bavaria, " " .....	4,519,546
Belgium, " " .....	4,359,090
Denmark, " " .....	2,296,597
France, (Empire, but represented in a Parliament,)..	35,400,486
Great Britain, (Limited Monarchy, " " ..	27,435,325
Holland, " " .....	3,267,638
Hanover, " " .....	1,173,711
Portugal, " " .....	3,412,500
Saxony, " " .....	1,894,431
Sweden & Norway, " .....	3,667,812
Switzerland, (Republic,) .....	2,320,000
Turkey, (Despotic Government,).....	15,500,000
	<hr/> 144,052,943
Smaller States, say.....	5,000,000
Total Population of all the above,.....	<hr/> 149,052,943

Thus it would appear that the population of Europe is not much less than two and a half times that of Russia; but their mode of warfare and their scientific superiority, is probably much greater.

The majority of the nations above mentioned, are limited monarchies, and were they convinced that the design of the Emperor of Russia in this war, really was to bring them under its despotic rule, there can be no doubt that it would inspire them with courage and means to prostrate him.

It therefore appears to me, reasonable to believe this could not have been his design. Accordingly, before her last Emperor died, he directed his ambassador at Vienna, not only to agree to the four points proposed to him by the allies, but to accept their own explanation of these points. The present Emperor, also gave the same directions. Then the cause why these negotiations were broken up, was, the demand on Russia that its fleet in the Black Sea should be retired or demolished. This was refused and the negotiation terminated.

Now the fleets of Great Britain and France must be immensely more numerous and powerful than those of Russia, yet Russia has never demanded a diminution of them, in doing which, it appears to me, she would have had an equal right as they.

It has been said indeed, that the position of Russia relative to Turkey, is such, that she might invade Constantinople immediately, without a declaration of war; but, if that were likely to be the case a treaty offensive and defensive, might and ought to have been made between Turkey on one part, and France, England and other Powers on the other part, and Russia would then be aware of the dangerous consequences of such an act on her part.

It certainly does not appear then that the Black Sea fleet question was sufficient to deprive the world of the blessings of peace.

The world had enjoyed these blessings for nigh forty years since the last great French Revolutionary War, and when we look back and see the wonderful effects that peace has produced we shall have abundant cause to regret the failure of these negotiations.

The manners of society during this peace have been greatly improved. One great stain upon England has been removed by the abolition of slavery in all her dominions;

and the principle of the right of man to liberty has been confirmed. Trade and commerce have been relieved from many shackles; the power of intelligence and combination of minds at vast distances have been given to mankind by the telegraph; and the rapid power of locomotion by steam; and the romantic saying of our immortal Shakespeare in his *Tempest*: "I will put a girdle round the earth in forty minutes,"—if not yet realized, bids fair very soon to be so. The power of the sciences have also been applied to the increase of the comforts of the poor and the prevention of disease, and consequently of the duration of life. Condorcet, the great French philosopher, at the time of the first French revolution, wrote, that longevity would in future ages be greatly increased by these means, and Sir F. Litton Bulwer in one of his late works seems to advance the same idea. In fine, there is perhaps no limit to discoveries of sciences, when inspired and animated by philosophy and scientific zeal. But when "the blast of war blows in our ears" all these fair and almost divine gifts of science soon take flight.

We trust therefore, if we have now shewn that there is no reasonable danger that Russia, if so inclined, could have overrun and enslaved Europe, so there were no just grounds why those negociations for peace were broken up.

The protracted defense of Sebastopol by the Russians has indeed shewn the great power that nature bestows in a country for the defence of her own soil; but, that power will be reversed against her, when that country advances into the territory of neighboring nations with hostile intent.

Lord Raglan has told us in one of his dispatches that 16,000 English and French troops, had, in the engagement he wrote of, driven back from 50 to 60,000 Russians; and should it in reality prove true that that government has formed, and is putting in practice, the design of overwhelming the other powers of Europe, a reaction of those powers would take place, and very probably a force would be brought against it sufficient, not only to destroy it, but to divide its country into States small enough to secure the safety of Europe for the future.

We have seen England, in the course of some of her wars, reduced to a very low ebb. For instance, before the time of the great Earl Chatham. That great man appeared to be called forth by the necessities of his country, and his powerful genius arose to restore the nation's glory which she has ever since sustained.

But, blessed, say the scriptures of heaven, are the peace makers. And it appears to me, that what is now wanted in England is, a genius of perhaps a higher description than even that: a genius, who, superior to the fears of despotic conquest from any foreign nation, can scorn and defy those fears, and who can effect for England and the world, that secure, honourable, and permanent peace that shall permit them to pursue the true course of an enlightened nature, the diffusion of the discoveries of science unmolested, and the progress of national improvement that shall remove the distresses and increase the comforts and enjoyments of mankind. But to return to our subject—Such then is the plan of Representative Union of all the Colonies of Great Britain, which I believe to be the most suited to obtain for them that elevation which their advanced state of population, prosperity, and intelligence seem to require.

If the Imperial Parliament will agree to such a representation in it, as we in this work have proposed, namely, to allow the present Legislatures of these Colonies to retain their present right and power of levying the taxes for the support of the government of each Colony, and also to send deputies to the Imperial Parliament, there to sit as Representatives of these Colonies, and there to bring forward such measures as may appear to them needful to redress and remove any grievances or differences that may hereafter arise therein, and also to bring forward any measures or regulations in regard to their trade, commerce, or navigation which may appear to said Representatives required and promotive of these interests; the Colonies will then have acquired a portion of that elevation in the national government, which all parties, in the Hon. House of Commons of Great Britain did, at the time of passing the Reform Bill for England, agree that these Colonies had a fair claim to.

We have stated in our plan of representation that as that plan makes it indispensable, that the Legislatures of the Colonies should be exclusively empowered to levy the taxes for each of their Colonies; so we have not claimed for our deputies to the Imperial Parliament, to vote on a question of the taxation of the people of Great Britain. But as these Colonies are greatly interested in the question of peace or war, it is perhaps possible the Imperial Parliament might allow to our Representatives the right to deliver their opinions on the great question of peace or war, though not to vote on it.



I observe further, that a very wealthy district of Upper Canada, as has been notified in the last Session of the Hon. House of Assembly, intends to petition Her Majesty either to unite all the Provinces of British North America or otherwise to dissolve the union of the Canadas, and I have now only to repeat my observation in the foregoing pages of this work, that the progressing state of these Provinces will probably require some movement on the part of the Imperial Parliament to meet it, if they intend to preserve the integrity of the Empire.

The applause and encomiums gained by the United Provinces in the late Industrial Exhibitions of England and France, may give the British Ministry a fair idea of what this country is likely to become in a few years, and although Mr. Molesworth has attempted to shew by his calculations, that the Colonies are an incumbrance on the British nation, I trust I have also shewn, in my work on the "Present Condition of Canada," published here, that Mr. Molesworth's calculations are founded on short sighted views, that in them he has omitted the most important one, namely, that these Provinces double in twenty to twenty-five years, and some times much oftener, and that as the cost of their government instead of increasing was probably diminishing, therefore, the value of these Colonies to Great Britain will be greatly increased, for their demand for manufactured goods will be doubled as the population doubles. I humbly conceive, therefore, that any Ministry that incurs the risk of detaching these Provinces from the Empire, by any such vacillation of conduct, will incur a terrific responsibility to their country; and, that on the contrary it will be their highest wisdom to unite them, integrally, by a fairly modified representation in the Imperial Parliament, and thereby secure to this Great Empire the talents, zeal, genius, and wisdom of every portion of it.



## PART III.

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*Some remarks on the Hon. Mr. Hinck's answer to the Hon. Joseph Howe's (of Nova Scotia) plan of Representation of the North American Colonies in the Imperial Parliament.*

It appears that in the month of March, 1854, the Hon. Joseph Howe delivered a speech in the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, or published a pamphlet in Halifax of that date, containing a plan for procuring the representation of the Provinces and Colonies in the Imperial Parliament. This plan of Mr. Howe's he republished it seems in London, where the Hon. Mr. Hincks then was, who replied to it I believe in another pamphlet.

Having first published my plan for getting this representation for the Canadas in 1839, I had forwarded twelve copies of that work to Mr. Howe's brother in Halifax, who then was editor of one of the Halifax papers. My plan of that date, 1839, was precisely the same as what I have now presented in this work with some additions.

The plan presented by Mr. Howe in his speech or pamphlet I have not seen, but in a letter of his addressed to Mr. Hincks he states the general nature of his plan to be a representation of the Colonies in the Imperial Parliament. In that letter, however, he does not explain whether the present Legislatures of the Colonies are to be retained and to possess as they now do the exclusive right of levying revenue on their people.

In a part of his pamphlet, Mr. Hinck's charges Mr. Howe with intending, by the plan of representation he has brought forward to overthrow the Constitution of the Provinces, and thereby to produce the dismemberment of the Empire.—Now if that plan goes to deprive the Provinces of their own Legislatures to levy revenues, the charge would certainly be correct? but if that plan suffers them to remain in free force, and Legislatures are solely to be represented in the

Imperial Parliament, but without the power of taxing the Colonies, this would not overthrow the Constitution of the Provinces, but rather support and invigorate it, and the charge of Hincks on Howe would rather revert against himself, as to overthrowing the Constitution, for I believe he always voted and advocated, while in Nova Scotia for the overthrow of the Legislative Council as far as its appointment went by the Crown, which I consider to be a great security for the Union of these Provinces with the Parent State.

Again, by the aforesaid letter to Mr. Hincks, Mr. Howe complains much, that Colonists are never advanced to Offices in the British Government and claims that right equally with all other subjects. Of this claim, there can be no doubt. If Representatives, who should be deputed from the Colonies to sit in Parliament, or indeed any individual Colonist whatever, seek appointments, and obtain them from the British Ministry, they certainly have as much right to accept them as any other subject. But then, these Representatives would have to resign those seats until re-elected by their constituents in the Colonies.

Mr. Hincks seems to accuse Mr. Howe of throwing out certain threats in case of a refusal, by the Imperial Government, of representation of the Colonies. If any such threats have been made by him, or any one else, they must certainly be considered as absurd and unauthorized by the Colony of Nova Scotia, and certainly not thought of by any other, that I am aware of.

In some part of Mr. Hincks' pamphlet he mentions that the practice in the United States in the representation in Congress, of what they name "United States Territories," is as he says "They are simply permitted to send deputies to Congress, who may *speak but not vote*."

This practice then, may be considered as a kind of precedent for my plan of representation, in that Imperial Parliament, namely, to vote on all questions relating to the Colonies, but not to *vote* on any question of taxation of the people of England.

Mr. Hincks, moreover, referring to the representation of the Colonies in the Parliament, says, that representation of them in the Imperial Parliament, unaccompanied by our participation in all the Imperial liabilities, would be a most unreasonable demand.

Now it must be allowed that if the Colonies demanded from the Imperial Parliament a right to sit there, and vote on all questions of taxation of the people of Great Britain, and at same time that their own Colonial Legislatures should have the exclusive right to raise their own taxes in their Colony, Hincks' remark would then be correct; but, in my plan of representation, it is expressly stated, that as each Colony is to have their right, exclusively of the Imperial Parliament, therefore, we do not claim for our Representatives to have the right of voting on any question of taxation of the people of England. This demand of a modified representation appears to me perfectly just and reasonable; and that it would tend to give to these Colonies that elevation which their advanced and advancing situations will soon require, and which it is probable the Imperial Government will accede to.

Mr. Hincks, it is true, has resided a long time in Canada, and displayed considerable talent in it, still he is not a Canadian; I am, and feel that the country being now so advanced, has a fair claim and right to some voice in the general interests and government of the Empire.

I now present some remarks on the conclusion of the Russian war:

Since the completion of the manuscript of this work, Sebastopol the great, has fallen by the indomitable valour of the French and British armies. The fleet—*that Russian fleet*, which was the cause of the former conference for Peace, being broken up, has, as it is said, been destroyed by them, lest it should fall into our possession, and, thank God, a great obstacle for peace is destroyed along with it.

This Peace then, is at last concluded, and the great question I wish to consider is, how this Peace is to be rendered durable or permanent.

There appears to me two ways to effect the procuration of this vast blessing.

The allied powers, previously to the conclusion of Peace, seemed to have declared from what I have been able to collect from the speeches of the Government, and of influential Members of Parliament, that they must have security given by Russia, that she would not in future invade the rights and liberties of other nations. Well, what kind of security is that to be? Mere treaties and promises contained therein may be evaded, and we appear to have little faith in any such.

It is considered by those who seem to believe in the almost omnipotent power of Russia, and the ambitious designs of its government, that the conquest of Turkey is its object, in order to enable it to overthrow our power in the East Indies, and of course to gain possession of that country.

If then a treaty, offensive and defensive were made between Turkey on one part, and England, France, and any other powers that might agree to join in it on the other. By means of such a treaty as this, and due preparation made to carry it into effect, would it not be shewn to the Russian government that the acquisition of Turkey was unattainable and would it not therefore cease to attempt it?

The second plan I would propose for the securing the blessings of this permanent Peace is—

That Great Britain should immediately proceed to concentrate all the power of her Empire by the principle of representative government, introduced into all her Colonies, east, west, north, and south.

And now I proceed to consider the consequences of such a measure on the strength and elevation of her Empire.

With respect to the Representative Union of all the British Colonies with the Imperial Parliament, it will be recollected by the reader, that in a former part of this work, I have shewn that the profound author of the "Wealth of Nations," Adam Smith, has stated in that immortal work, that if the American States had been represented in the British Parliament, that measure would have opened a great safety valve for the desire of promotion and for the ambition of the leading men in those States, which would probably have prevented the separation from Great Britain. So in the same way do I believe, that were all the Colonies now duly represented in Great Britain, all the power of the Empire being thus concentrated, the strength and elevation of it would rise proportionably in the estimation of the European nations.

With respect to our East India possessions, their perfect security from all the power Russia could send against them, would probably be the first effect produced by this representative system of government.

The native mind of India, has often shewn itself to be susceptible of an intelligent advancement. Her native troops, also, when incorporated with our European forces, have shewn themselves to be good soldiers, which is said to have been the case also, in the present Persian war.



It appears therefore, to me, that when the leading men of the population of India have the advantages and honors of a Representative Government bestowed on them, and that government the right of representation in the Imperial Parliament, that this would diffuse a spirit of liberty and attachment to the constitution which should confer these rights upon this immense population, and it would possibly be inspired with sufficient zeal to defend their liberties against any power that Russia could send against them.

The population of India is said to be above 100 millions of people, and it is not to be doubted that the leading and influential men of that vast population would justly and highly estimate the privilege of this Representative Government conferred on them by Great Britain, and would try and probably soon succeed in exciting that population to prepare to defend the boon of constitutional liberty bestowed on them.

So far then, as to the defence of our East India possessions by the means of Representative Government.

The same good effects would most probably ensue in all our national concerns. The entire physical force of the Empire being thus concentrated by a due participation in the Government by every part of it, every part would be interested in its preservation and defence as the great Palladium of its own rights and liberties, and it would be difficult to conceive that any nation would, without great provocation, involve itself in a war with an Empire thus constituted; and therefore, we might with good reason expect the present Peace to be durable and perhaps permanent.

It is possible, however, that before these blessings could be effected, a powerful mind must arise to direct the councils of our nation—a mind superior to the ruling fancies or passions of the day, and whose breast is animated with the feelings of humanity, love of peace and philanthropy, worthy of the nineteenth century. A mind of this description might, by concentrating all the forces of this mighty Empire, give to its people and to mankind a secure and permanent Peace. And it is possible that the present condition of Old England may yet generate such a mind, which that the Almighty may so dispose is the prayer of

HENRY TAYLOR.



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## ERRATA.

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Page	19,	line 5,	for <i>arrangements</i> read <i>arguments</i> .
"	19,	" 7,	for <i>their</i> read <i>these</i> .
"	20,	" 2,	for <i>the</i> read <i>that</i> .
"	20,	" 21,	for <i>interests</i> read <i>Colonies</i> .
"	20,	" 27,	for <i>advocate</i> read <i>advocates</i> .
"	21,	" 5, 26, 37, and p. 22, line 1,	for <i>center</i> read <i>centre</i> .
"	25,	" 5,	for <i>numbers</i> read <i>members</i> .
"	50,	" 8, from foot,	for <i>Province</i> read <i>Provinces</i> .
"	51,	" 16, " "	for <i>it</i> read <i>Canada</i> .
"	60,	" 9,	for <i>have</i> read <i>has</i> .
"	60,	" 25,	for <i>in</i> read <i>on</i> .

NOTE TO PAGE 35—Hume's speech in Parliament.—It escaped me to observe that Hume's plan of representation of the Colonies in Parliament advocates that representation, although the Colonies are to be taxed by their own Legislatures only.

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